

Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by 300 Stations of the ABC Radio Network



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How Should We Fight Russia's "Hate America" Campaign?

Moderator, GUNNAR BACK

Speakers

ALFRED PUHAN

HENRY TAYLOR

LOUIS GALANTIERE

—COMING—

—January 20—

**Do We Overemphasize the Value
of Competition in America?**

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 36, N. Y.

VOLUME 18, NUMBER 34



\$5.00 A YEAR, 15c A COPY



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No. 34



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The Broadcast of January 13, 1953, from 9:00 to 9:45 p. m., EST, over the American Broadcasting Company Radio Network, originated from the ABC Radio Studio, 39 West 66th Street, New York City, N. Y.



The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of views presented.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

LOUIS GALANTIERE—Policy Adviser to Radio Free Europe. Mr. Galantiere was born in Chicago in 1895 but spent the greater part of his youth in Europe. He has divided his career between international affairs and literature. Following the close of World War I, he was attached to the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris. From 1927 until the opening of World War II he was on the staff of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, engaged in international banking. It was during the second world war, when he was director of French operations for the Office of War Information, that Mr. Galantiere came up against the anti-Americanism prevailing in western Europe and was impelled by it to begin his studies of the American society. His essay entitled "America Today" broke new ground in 1950, stimulating *Fortune* magazine's special number on "America, the Permanent Revolution," among other results. In 1951 he edited a special number of the *Saturday Review of Literature* entitled "America and the Mind of Europe," which has been reprinted as a book. He has served on study groups of the Council on Foreign Relations and as a consultant to the Department of State, and is a member of the Advertising Council's "Round Table on America." He is well known as a literary critic and translator from French and German, and has contributed articles to a wide range of magazines, from *The American Scholar* to *The Reader's Digest*.

ALFRED PUHAN—Program Director of Voice of America. Born March 7, 1913, Mr. Puhon was educated at Oberlin College, Ohio, (B.A. 1935), the University of Cincinnati, where he did his first teaching and obtained a Master's degree, as well as at Columbia University and Rutgers. He has been with the Voice of America since its beginning in 1942. Among his assignments were the interrogation of 1500 German POW's in 1943, running the German language operation of ABSIE (American Broadcasting Station in Europe) in 1944, and the following year heading SHAEF's Allied radio operation from Luxembourg. In 1946, Mr. Puhon joined the Department of State as Chief of the European Section of VOA; in 1950 he was made its Program Director. At present he is awaiting assignment to a post abroad.

HENRY J. TAYLOR—Author, foreign correspondent and commentator for the American Broadcasting Company. Mr. Taylor was a successful business-

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Town Meeting is published weekly at 32 S. Fourth St., Columbus 15, Ohio, by The Town Hall, Inc., New York 36, New York. Send subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, New York 36, N.Y.

Subscription price, \$5.00 a year, (Canada, \$6.00); six months, \$3.00, (Canada, \$3.50); eight weeks, \$1.00, (Canada, \$1.20); 15c a single copy. Entered as second-class matter May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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How Should We Fight Russia's "Hate America" Campaign?

Moderator Back:

Tonight we're going to talk about something I am sure has been a great puzzler to most of you. It is what is known as the "Hate America" campaign in the Soviet Union. The Russian people are subjected to it day and night. It comes out in a flood beyond the Soviet and the Iron Curtain country borders into the free world, into the West and the East—a "Hate America" campaign with its complex of what we are sure are lies. The little ones like the one that American football is a cynical, capitalistic form of mayhem and suicide and the big ones that you will easily recall, the ones that the South Koreans started the Korean War, that the United Nations used germ warfare in Korea, and that we committed atrocities on enemy prisoners in Korea.

We are puzzled, because such lies are whoppers and we wonder how anyone could possibly believe such lies, and we are especially puzzled because we constantly hear that Russian propaganda has been successful and that our propaganda has not been successful. Tonight the subject is, "How Should We Fight Russia's 'Hate America' Campaign?" As moderator on such subject, one reads the material gathered by the fine staff of Town Hall, the researchers, and there you find the articles with such titles as, "Have We Any Friends," and "What's Wrong With the Voice of America" and "The Technique of the Big Lie—Why Can't We Beat It"?

Well, tonight three experts are here in New York City to debate the subject of the big lie and how we can beat it. One of them is

Alfred Puhan, Program Director of the Voice of America. He'll argue tonight that the problem is being adequately settled by his agency. Then there is Henry J. Taylor, author, foreign correspondent and radio commentator who finds that the Voice of America, in his opinion, has failed and the Voice of Free Europe, of which Louis Galantiere is an adviser, has done relatively well. Mr. Galantiere is also an author and a critic and a policy adviser to the Radio Free Europe organization. But first let's hear from Mr. Puhan on the subject of whether or not we can combat successfully the "Hate America" campaign.

Mr. Puhan:

Mr. Back, ladies and gentlemen. Russia's Hate America campaign is part of the Kremlin's effort to win the allegiance of men's minds. It is directed principally, as Mr. Back said, at its own people, at the Russian people. It is directed secondarily at the Chinese people, and it is directed at the people of the satellite regimes, the satellites of the Soviet Union. It swung into high gear with the Korean War. It depicts Americans principally as germ warriors, as loathsome monsters perpetrating foul atrocities, and as cultural and racial aggressors.

Now let's see. On April 15, 1952, a 21-year-old Chinese student from Shanghai arrived in Hong Kong. He said that everyone in his university in Communist Shanghai knew that the United States had suggested a Red Cross investigation of Red charges of United States germ warfare in Korea. He said he knew that the Voice of America had offered the help of

the United States in the event that epidemics raged in North Korea. He said that the broadcasts of the Voice of America had undermined Communist propaganda among the students at his university. A Catholic Sister, long in term in Communist China, arrived recently in England. She related how Chinese friends told her with a chuckle the story of little germs in heated flying gear floating down in tiny parachutes to bother Mao Tse-tung.

This was a story carried originally by the Voice of America. Ladies and gentlemen, the Chinese student and the Catholic Sister furnished proof of how the Voice of America had combated communist propaganda. (1) By offering help—the heart of America. The other, how ridicule had made the Chinese laugh at their own government's charges. This is evidence of how the Voice of America counters one aspect of the Hate America campaign. Basically, the Voice of America combats the Hate America campaign with a campaign of truth. How?

The Voice of America, using its 46 language network, broadcasting around the clock, shows that (1) the United States exercises its responsibility as a world leader in the interest of freedom for all individuals and nations. The Kremlin, on the other hand, stands condemned as the exponent of slavery, both of mind and body. (2) The United States stands for peace; the Kremlin does not want peace. (3) The United States stands for religious freedom; the Kremlin persecutes religion. (4) The United States stands for freedom of choice where prisoners of war are concerned; the Kremlin insists on forced repatriation. (5) The United States has a long record of aiding other peoples, both in developing

their own resources as well as in achieving their independence.

The Kremlin, as the record shows, is the aggressor. (6) The United States has developed a way of life which gives its people the fruits of spiritual, intellectual, and cultural pursuits as well as material comforts. The Kremlin, while reducing the people under its domination to the status of slaves, has not even been able to raise noticeably their standards of living. Ladies and gentlemen, the Hate America campaign is gigantic. The Voice of America broadcasts in the conviction that the great truth, still fully told, will prevail over the big lie. Thank you. (*Applause*)

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Puhan. Program Director of the Voice of America, educated at Oberlin College and at the University of Cincinnati and at Columbia University and Rutgers. Henry J. Taylor is known to many of you as an ABC radio commentator, a native of Chicago who began newspaper work in Kansas City then went into business, established several very successful businesses and then returned to journalism during World War II. Many of you heard him during the course of that War as a foreign correspondent. Mr. Taylor, what is your feeling about the battle against the Hate America campaign in the Soviet Union?

Mr. Taylor:

Well, Gunnar and Friends of Town Hall across the country, sitting here between a representative of the Voice of America and representative of Radio Free Europe, I feel a little bit like a egg between two stones. I think that the basic problem is overemphasized when it's weighed so heavily along the lines of con-

munications. Now my own feeling is that our policy actions abroad will speak louder than any Voice of America. I think it's a misfortune to reduce this subject to the question of the number of radios in the Soviet Union.

Matters of that kind, it's commonly said and of course it's true that there are fewer radios in the Soviet Union than we have in the single city of Detroit. But the problem we're talking about is actually one of the most complex and difficult and confusing and shifting and fluid problems of our modern day. In my opinion, and I've worked in every Western European country and in most of the countries of Asia, until we get our foreign policy straightened around and until we change the behavior of a great many American representatives in foreign countries who are annoying and to a degree infuriating a lot of the locals right in their neighborhood, it's a perfect cinch for Stalin and some of his communist stooges to operate a Hate America campaign.

Now let me give you one concrete example of that. Take Bonn, Germany. Now, we're making a big pitch to woo the Western Germans to our side instead of the Soviet Union. This is one of the cruel ironies of war. We just got through beating those people; now we're making love to them. Nevertheless, in Bonn, we have a country club for the Americans and there the State Department built a \$373,000 glass enclosed swimming pool with bowling allies and a gymnasium and a \$142,000 night club with restaurants and fancy bars. Now, generally speaking, the Germans cannot be expected very well to show much affection for moral Americans living that way.

It's difficult to talk about this

subject because you've got in addition to a very large number of free-riders that are holed-in in some of these countries like old China hands, you've got some of the most conscientious American citizens, men and women working in these countries, that there are alive. But by and large, we throw our money around, we throw our weight around at the local community level in most every country I've been in, including England, and the uprisings, semi-uprisings, that are taking place near the air fields in England are not due to Russia's Hate America campaign but to the situation that has degenerated abroad as we have gone longer and longer in the occupation of these nations.

I suggest in conclusion of these remarks that it is a mistake to reduce this question to a debate between the Voice of America and the Radio Free Europe, if that's what this is to be, but, instead, that the main problem is American foreign policy and American behavior abroad. Then if we get that straightened around as I hope and pray we will, I think that both the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe will do a good job and set these communists back on their ears. (*Applause*)

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Taylor. You have introduced the third party for our discussion. Louis Galantiere has written for magazines on the subject of our problem in sending over information to the Soviet Union and beyond the Iron Curtain. He has exercised his roles in America in criticizing some of our propaganda methods, but he also has been a policy adviser of Radio Free Europe. He worked for the OWR, he has written widely in defense of this country and its liberal traditions. And

now, Mr. Galantiere, would you tell us how you think we can combat the Hate America program and perhaps comment on Mr. Taylor's point of view?

Mr. Galantiere:

I'll be glad to. The Hate America campaign, like all Soviet Russian propaganda, is not an end in itself but a means to an end. That end, or purpose, is to drive a wedge between the United States and its military allies—the British, the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, the Norwegians, the Italians and the other members of NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. To meet this attack requires action at home as well as abroad. At home, because no propaganda organization in a democracy can be effective unless it is backed up by the nation and is not contradicted by influential voices in the nation. That is my first point.

My second point is that our propaganda situation is not simple but complex. We have to convince the peoples of the Soviet Union that we do not mean to make war on them. We have to convince the captive peoples of the Iron Curtain countries that we do not intend to leave them forever under the domination of Soviet Imperialists. We have to convince our own military allies of NATO that this is their fight as well as ours, and we have to convince such neutrals as the people of India, for example, that we are not crass capitalist imperialists fighting against cruel communist imperialists for the domination of the globe by one single power, either Russia or ourselves.

My third point is this, the important propaganda battle is not directly between the Russians and ourselves; it is a fight by the Rus-

sians and by ourselves to win the allegiance of the free world. What the British, the French, the East Indians think of us is more important than what the Russians think of us. We shall never win the propaganda war against the Soviet Union until we have created unity of spirit and purpose among the nations of the free world. Now for my fourth point. We shall not perform this supreme task until we learn that propaganda by itself is a weak weapon. Its use must be co-ordinated with the weapons of diplomacy, economic warfare, and defense measures. So far as I know, no such co-ordination has ever been achieved by our government in peacetime. (*Applause*)

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Galantiere. We have had a statement of the positions of our three people tonight, and now I want to ask why these things have not been carried out. What are the shortcomings—these things I've heard before. Mr. Puhon, to what extent do you think the Voice of America and the Information Service of the State Department have carried out what Mr. Galantiere has suggested as the ideal?

Mr. Puhon: Well, Mr. Back, I don't find too much to quarrel with Mr. Galantiere on what he has said. As a matter of fact, I agree with a great deal of what he has said. I do disagree with Mr. Taylor. At least I would like to immediately ask him a question. In my opinion, with all due respect to Mr. Taylor, he oversimplifies the problem greatly. He says policy actions will speak louder than words, any words from the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe. That's all very well in the Eutopian world where people have access to the news that is made and they can hear about these policy

actions but what about where it is in a vacuum and then for Mr. Taylor to blame the entire problem in Germany on this alleged paradise that exists . . .

Mr. Taylor: It's not alleged.

Mr. Puhon: Mr. Taylor, isn't it true that there are some more serious problems such as the defeat of Germany, the latent Nazism that exists there, how about partition? Really, isn't it oversimplifying to blame something on (I don't know what the number of people is), I get the impression that all the problems in Germany are due to American representatives . . .

Mr. Taylor: Well, the Russians were just as much responsible for the partition as we were. I claim that the root of the problem in so far as what I think we're talking about tonight is the Russia Hate America campaign and I just do not believe that the major element in this can be combated by the Voice of America until we get our foreign policy straightened around and stop doing a lot of paradoxical things abroad just as we are at home. For example: I would like to ask what happened to the Voice of America when we paid that shakedown bribe of \$120,000 to the Hungarians for the release of a three-month jail sentence to our fliers who went to Hungary. The first thing we did, we called off a broadcasting station.

Mr. Puhon: Mr. Taylor, we had to, as part of the agreement, in the case of Mr. Vogeler who was ransomed. We had to give up a broadcast of the Voice of America. I think that indicates fairly well the effectiveness of the Voice of America because the Hungarian Government put that much premium on it that it was one of the terms that we surrender the Voice of America

from Munich at that time to Hungary.

Mr. Taylor: Why certainly. But the Voice of America then ceased to operate from Munich because of a policy followed by the United States Government in paying the bribe in the first place. I'm trying to dramatize the fact that they not only can pull the rug out from under your propaganda by bad policies but they can actually silence you.

Mr. Puhon: But Mr. Taylor, the American people wanted, you did and I did, we wanted Vogeler . . .

Mr. Taylor: I'm not talking about Vogeler. I'm talking about the three or four fliers that we paid \$120,000 to get out of the hoosegow for three months in Hungary. The first thing that I read in the papers in the Balkans was, "You see ours was an honest claim against the United States, because they paid it. We were going to ask for more, but we didn't and where was our propaganda then?"

Mr. Back: I'm afraid that we're getting away from the problem of how we can combat the Hate America campaign in the Soviet Union, which is the real thing aside from those deals . . .

Mr. Taylor: I say we're licked before we start until we get our policy straightened out.

Mr. Back: Mr. Galantiere.

Mr. Galantiere: Well, let's see something more of what the problem is. Now Mr. Puhon, I think, said with entire justice that the Hate America campaign actually considered by itself is something which Moscow is carrying on inside the Soviet orbit. It isn't carrying on a Hate America campaign outside the USSR, Communist China, and the so-called Satellite countries. It's a different thing that

goes on in France. What they are demonstrating in France as well as they can is that we are black Wall Street capitalists. That is certainly part of the business of dividing the French from us and isolating us. It goes on everywhere. That other, outside the Soviet orbit is a campaign of a somewhat different sort.

The Soviet Union and its orbits hitherto denominated the Hate America campaign, which is directed, as such, against the whole of America. Outside the Soviet orbit there are attacks on specific aspects of United States policy and United States life and those attacks are accompanied by expressions of the greatest sympathy and affection for the people of the United States. I want to make that distinction first. I want to say with regard to the Hate America campaign in my area if I may go on for just a moment, Mr. Moderator.

With regard to the Hate America campaign in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, from Poland down to Bulgaria and Albania, we of Radio Free Europe tackled that subject directly, and I think we do a very good job and I will say perhaps we are able to do as good job as we do because our problem is a good deal easier than the problem of the Voice of America when it broadcasts to countries outside those Iron Curtain countries. The peoples of the Iron Curtain countries are on our side already. The prestige of the United States has suffered no damage in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania. People in those countries, having lost their liberty, know what liberty means, as people, for example, in France who have not lost their liberty really do not know what liberty means.

Mr. Taylor: Just a moment. France was occupied by the Germans; the French people know a great deal about losing their liberty.

Mr. Puhan: Revolutions have been a failure economically in those countries.

Mr. Taylor: I appreciate that.

Mr. Back: Mr. Puhan and Mr. Taylor . . .

Mr. Puhan: I appreciate Mr. Galantier's gallantry in saying that his task is somewhat easier. His task is difficult. We're talking about an extremely difficult task. His techniques are different. Radio Free Europe represents Europeans. It is not representing the United States Government. Ours is the official voice. His speaks for the many exiles, and I pay my highest respects to those many heroic exiles who have come out of there. But that is what Radio Free Europe is, and the two operations complement each other. They are supplementary to each other. We work the same grounds he does on a much larger scale than he does. He uses different techniques from ours.

Mr. Back: Mr. Puhan, let's centralize this thing for a moment. To what extent has the State Department, through its information service, counteracted the charge that we have used germ warfare? To what extent did you hit at that day-after-day? I'll ask Mr. Taylor to what extent the State Department failed if he knows.

Mr. Puhan: Mr. Back, it's a dead duck. We've killed it. We had an entire State Department working here not only through radio but through films, press, and all the other media that the information program uses as shown to the people at whom this campaign was

directed either by producing the facts, by producing the scientists on the microphones, by putting the scientist on paper, by film, by every possible way, by using ridicule, by showing how the so-called evidence that came out from behind the Iron Curtain was as phoney as that regime itself, and it is a dead duck. They laugh behind the Iron Curtain at germ warfare and they laugh in Europe. (Applause)

Mr. Back: Mr. Taylor, I think it's your turn.

Mr. Taylor: Well, I would like to agree with that, but I am lacking in any documentation about the laughter behind the Iron Curtain. I don't know that you can say something like that; they've been equally as persistent as we have about germ warfare. I think it's presumptuous to suggest that it's a dead duck. My experience with the communists is that you can never count them dead ducks until you see them flat on their backs, and they're a little hard to put there.

Mr. Puhan: Mr. Taylor, I don't call any communist a dead duck until I see him lying dead on the floor, but I'm telling you this germ warfare charge is a dead duck and they are laughing behind the Iron Curtain. We do have the evidence.

Mr. Taylor: They didn't think it was so funny out in the Far East. You know, you speak about the scientists, as a matter of fact the history of this is that there was a very serious epidemic in China and it was due to the breakdown of the food and water facilities, but they just blamed it on America and they got away with it, but what you suggest is . . .

Mr. Puhan: No, they didn't get away with it.

Mr. Taylor: The people in China don't listen to radio. How did we make a dead duck out of that thing over there?

Mr. Back: Mr. Taylor, are you saying that you don't think that the communist world and the satellite world has been convinced that the germ warfare charge was a phoney charge?

Mr. Taylor: Oh, no I don't.

Mr. Back: In what respect do you think we have failed to convince that world so far as we can reach them?

Mr. Taylor: I think we've done our level best, and Mr. Puhan is correct in all the efforts we've made, but I'm just a little alarmed to hear an official of our government suggest that it's a dead duck. It's much more difficult than that. It's a perfectly appalling thing in totalitarian countries (and it's been my misfortune to work in nearly every one of them) what you can do in conditioning the public mind when you control all the radios, newspapers, and everything else, and a lone voice is trying to break through from a foreign country.

Mr. Back: Well, Mr. Taylor, I think it's incumbent on you to say what you think we ought to do then to destroy a charge like that.

Mr. Taylor: Well, I think you have to take those things in your stride and do what we're doing. I agree that you've got to make every effort, but I don't like to hear it talked about as a dead duck as though we had achieved . . .

Mr. Puhan: Mr. Back, may we get on another issue? Let's take another aspect of it. I don't say that we have allayed every charge, by no means. But there was another one and that one was the

dropping of the Colorado beetle, the bug. You know Gerhart Eisler just lost his job. He was the boy who invented the thing. Well, we dropped him. I hope he is dead to stay. I can't say yet that he is out completely, but the latest reports are that his information ministry is dissolved. We finished the potato beetle and we made them laugh in Czechoslovakia, and Mr. Galantiere, I am sure, did a fine job in that too.

Mr. Back: Mr. Puhon, you're satisfied that when such a charge is made by the communists that the Voice of America or the whole Information Service of the State Department has the facility to reach all people to kill that charge.

Mr. Galantiere: Mr. Back, may I say one word on a remark of Mr. Taylor's? He spoke of a lone voice. I want to point out that American radio propagandists are not the only people in the field addressing themselves to the Soviet Union and the Soviet orbit. BBC, the Paris radio, the Vatican radio, even radio Madrid and others are on the air, though for brief periods, many of them, to all of these countries inside the Soviet zone.

Now, Mr. Puhon, excuse me for interrupting you, but I think we ought to make that clear that we mustn't allow ourselves even here in the United States to be propagandized by the Russians into the notion they are trying to give our allies, which is that what is going on in the world is a duel only between Soviet Russia and only the United States. The fact is the duel that is going on is a duel between the Soviet power and the whole of the free world, the non-communist, the anti-communist world, and that world is to some extent working on the same

problem that we are concerned with.

Mr. Taylor: My reference to a lone voice if I might say so is this: I was trying to contrast the power of the complete control of local media in a totalitarian state with the best attempts to break in from the outside. As a matter of fact, the official presentation of the Voice of America during the period when they appealed for their last appropriation, and by the Voice of America's own official statement they declared — this is the Voice of America's opinion, not mine—that the jamming of their broadcast to Moscow cut 74 per cent of the Voice of America broadcasts before it got there.

Mr. Back: Mr. Taylor raised a question which I think the two other participants want to answer. Mr. Galantiere, will you comment on that?

Mr. Galantiere: I don't think the matter of jamming is one that we could go into profitably because it's so largely a technical phenomenon and I was going to say that Mr. Taylor has a real point if he argued that the Soviet Government did a more—as a government, not as merely a propaganda agency—did a more professional, a more thorough, job of putting its points over throughout the world than is done by the government of the United States. There's no question whatever of that, and if I may, I'll give you an example of the kind of thing we do that they do not do.

Take the question of the American position on peace. The government of the United States is for peace. No American wants to go to war. Every American hates the idea of what is going on in Korea and is full of sympathy with the families of the four or five hundred

thousand boys who are there but the fact is that on the subject of peace what do we get? We get in one month a resolution by the Senate of the United States. We get three or four months before that a statement signed by 26 Senators. We get six months after that a letter addressed by the President of the United States to the President of the USSR saying that we sympathize with the Russian people, have nothing against them. We get somewhat later than that (I'll be through in a second, Mr. Moderator) proposals for limitation of arms, and that is our peace campaign.

When you compare that with what the Russians must and orchestrate, and employ every possible means including, of course, those celebrated petitions signed by millions to put over in the world, you see that we, our government, are the veriest amateurs at this trade. I could say a word about how we handle land reform in comparison with them but I don't want to take any more time at this moment.

Mr. Back: Mr. Galantiere, you're quite right. You've opened up a new field and I'm sorry that on a program like this we don't have the time we really should have . . .

Mr. Galantiere: I understand that.

Mr. Back: I hope that in the course of the questioning from our audience—and I know many people are waiting to have a chance to ask questions—some of these things will be elaborated on because we've just begun the discussion. I know, for example, Mr. Taylor should be asked what he means by a change in policy. But supposing now I raise this part of our program.

Again this week we're going to ask our speakers to discuss a question submitted in advance by a listener. This direct participation in Town Meeting by our listeners we feel is terribly important. Don't forget to send your question for next week's program. This week the most pertinent question comes from Reverend B. L. Thompson of 830 West Maple Street in Jackson, Mississippi, and Reverend Thompson's question is, "Is it enough to fight Russia's Hate America propaganda with propaganda?"

Mr. Galantiere: Bravo! That's a wonderful question.

Mr. Back: I turn to Mr. Taylor first.

Mr. Taylor: I believe that propaganda is only a medium of explaining good policy. If your policies are contradictory—and ours have been—and if you face a totalitarian and evil movement using evil propaganda it's very difficult, but certainly propaganda is not enough with which to meet propaganda.

Mr. Galantiere: I agree entirely. The question is slightly erroneously phrased. What we are facing is not merely a campaign of propaganda or psychological warfare; it is a campaign of political warfare and we have to answer it by a campaign of political warfare and not merely depend upon the Voice.

Mr. Puhon: Propaganda is not enough. It requires deeds, it requires strength militarily, economically, and a sound United States, and a good propaganda program. My point is we have been doing as good job as can be done with the materials at hand.

Mr. Back: Thank you very much, Mr. Puhon, and now I think it's time to turn to the questions from

our audience. The people have been waiting here very patiently because they have a lot of pertinent questions to ask and the first question comes from a gentleman

in the aisle here. And you are the author of a book on the subject of the Soviet Union because you lived there at one time. What is your question, sir?



QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Man: My question is: Mr. Taylor, do you believe that the Hate America campaign influences deeply the Russian people? How can one prove it?

Mr. Taylor: Well, I don't know how you can prove it except I have seen vicious programs of this kind influence very much more literal German people during the Hitler regime. I have seen this done in other countries, including Egypt, and I would have to assume that it is influencing the Russian people.

Mr. Back: Mr. Galantiere has a comment on the question offered.

Mr. Galantiere: I really didn't have any comment farther than to say this. Since three-quarters of the population of the Soviet Union were born since the revolution and knew no other life, I expect them to be susceptible to the propaganda of the government of that society, which is all they know of living.

Mr. Back: Mr. Puhon, do you have a comment?

Mr. Puhon: I agree with Mr. Galantiere, particularly as far as the youth of the Soviet Union are concerned.

Mr. Back: We'll proceed with the second question from you, sir, please.

Man: My question is directed to

Mr. Puhon. I've listened to short-wave broadcasts and it often is difficult to hear it very well. What is being done to ensure better listening?

Mr. Puhon: We don't use short-wave broadcasting alone. We use medium-wave or what is called standard-wave broadcasting from Munich, from Saloniki, from the ship, *Courier*, from Manila, from Honolulu — standard-wave broadcasting, not short-wave alone.

Mr. Back: And now the third question comes from this gentleman.

Man: Mr. Galantiere, if we did not fight Russia's hate for America, will the Kremlin feel that America has no hate for Russia, but we are willing to negotiate in good faith for both countries concerned as the honorable governor of Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, said in one of his campaign speeches? Will that lead to peace in this troubled world?

Mr. Galantiere: I think, sir, that the policy of the United States Government and the sentiment of the American people is that we feel no hatred. The American people feel no hatred for the people of Russia and that fact has been made known to them so far as we are able to make it known repeatedly. Isn't that true, Mr. Puhon, on your radio and by other means?

Mr. Back: And now the next question.

Mr. Galantiere: No hate Russia campaign has been opposed to the Hate America campaign. That's the substance of what I want to say.

Mr. Puban: Correct, Mr. Galantiere.

Mr. Back: Sir, do you have a question for Mr. Taylor?

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Puban, please. Mr. Puban, how does the Soviet Union's budget for propaganda compare with American expenditures for overseas information?

Mr. Puban: Oh, I don't think that one can give an exact answer. All I know is that there are 1,400,000 professional ideological warriors and of course every member of the communist party is a professional propagandist, but it runs, I am sure, into the billions of dollars.

Mr. Back: And now for the first question from a lady.

Lady: Mr. Taylor, while behavior of no American could present us as reported, what change in foreign policy would improve impressions of us now propagandized?

Mr. Taylor: I believe that the first impression, the first change, is to elevate our foreign policy to some consistent moral level. Now the complaint made by people in free countries is, that if and when the chips are down, the United States seems to be willing to deal with anybody. We say we are interested only in the free peoples of the world, yet we make an alliance literally with Tito who is certainly an avowed communist, and played pretty with Franco besides, with the result that we be-

wilder people when we take a holier-than-thou position compared to either the Nazis or the Soviet Union.

Mr. Back: Mr. Puban.

Mr. Puban: But the Voice of America tells the Yugoslav people that while we appreciate the severance of Yugoslavia from Stalin we don't like communism of Tito's type, either.

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Puban. The next question from the floor.

Mr. Taylor: I was in Yugoslavia, and the Voice of America was not saying that when I was in Yugoslavia.

Mr. Back: A question I think for Mr. Galantiere.

Man: Mr. Galantiere, should not the United States work more actively for general peace than disarmament? I say this because apparently the Soviet Union appears as the principal proponent of both of these things.

Mr. Galantiere: The United States lives for peace, sir. The United States works for peace throughout the world, but the United States is engaged with its allies in building a position of strength from which it will be able to negotiate peacefully with a Soviet Union which doesn't respect weakness.

Man: The United States has bases in 56 major nations and islands throughout the world.

Mr. Galantiere: So far as I know, sir, the United States has no fifth columns in any country in the world and Russia does. The Iron Curtain countries are filled with Soviet bases, China is filled with Soviet bases, Indo-China is being attacked by men inspired by

the Soviet Union. What is this business of Soviet peace?

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Galantiere. Time for one more question.

Man: Mr. Puhon, could you tell me, do you believe Russia's propaganda has really been effective?

Mr. Puhon: Not entirely so, no. Where they have threatened with force and have been in a position to take over, yes, and within its own orbit. Where there is no

access other than the Voice of America has to it, there's a great danger of it.

Mr. Back: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Puhon, and thank you very much, Mr. Galantiere, and Mr. Taylor, for your interesting discussion of tonight's topic. I wish we had time to have more questions from the people waiting in the audience. Plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.



THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

(Continued from page 2)

man and an economist of note before he entered the field of radio as a correspondent and commentator. After the Chicago-born journalist (1902) completed his education at the University of Virginia in 1918, he turned down an associate professorship to join the staff of the *Kansas City Journal*. Working as a reporter, he continued his studies in the fields of government and economics. Within a few years, he took advantage of an opportunity to enter business and successfully built up a corn products company. Later, he founded his own paper and pulp company. His post-graduate studies and writings in economics soon established Taylor as an author and lecturer. By the time World War II broke out, his reputation was secure as an authority in his field and he became an ace war correspondent. Since V-J Day, Taylor has made many trips of observation to Europe and the Far East.

Moderator: GUNNAR BACK—Member of ABC's Washington News Staff.

FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

Background Questions

1. Are we winning or losing the propaganda war abroad? If the latter why and what can we do about it?
2. Is there much anti-American feeling abroad?
 - a. In which country or countries are such feelings strongest and why?
 - b. Are anti-American sentiments the direct result of Russian propaganda?
 - c. Does the misery, poverty, defeat and loss of prestige throughout so much of the world create a predisposition to dislike any wealthy, powerful nation?
 - d. Are Americans responsible for 'myth' of American materialism? Have we given the proper emphasis to the cultural and spiritual values of our community and to its non-economic aspirations?
3. Do people of other nations feel that we are setting ourselves up as *the* authorities on communism, its evils and the alternatives to it?
4. What are the objectives of official United States propaganda?
 - a. Is its primary function to refute communist lies?
 - b. Are we trying to "sell" America, democracy or free enterprise?
 - c. Should we concentrate less on selling ourselves and debunking the Russians, and more on giving the free peoples of the world a belief in themselves, their capacity to remain free and their future in a free world?
 - d. Is the purpose of our propaganda to enlist support for specific American policies?
5. Has the United States an over-all international program? Can we successfully combat Russian psychological warfare without one?
 - a. Do we have a clear picture of the needs and aspirations of other people?
 - b. Are we over-concerned about not meddling in the internal affairs of other nations?
 - c. Should it matter so much to us whether or not other people "like" us, as long as they remain non-communist and non-belligerent?

6. What is the connection between policy and propaganda?
 - a. Is a strong, affirmative policy an absolute prerequisite to effective propaganda?
 - b. Has our propaganda in certain areas been ineffectual because of lack of affirmative policy? If so, where—Western Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, etc.
 - c. Has our policy and propaganda supported reform where it has appeared to be in the best interests of the masses of people? Or, have we attempted to maintain the status quo?
7. Is there any way of assessing the effectiveness of the U. S. Information Service abroad?
8. Has the Voice of America chosen its primary targets wisely? Has it been concentrating more on the Iron Curtain countries than on the non-communist nations?
9. Should the VOA remain subordinate to the State Department; should it be a part of a Department of Propaganda with an administrative officer of cabinet level; or should it become part of a semi-autonomous propaganda agency, less inhibited by diplomatic niceties?
10. How effective have the independent broadcasting agencies such as Radio Free Europe and the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation been in combating anti-American propaganda?
11. What is the responsibility of American publications and motion pictures in combating Russian propaganda abroad?
12. Have personal contacts, such as student and teacher exchange, exchange of labor, business and agricultural personnel, been more or less effective than the use of mass media?
13. How effective has recent government-sponsored cultural interchange (e. g. ballet, the recent Porgy and Bess production, plays, etc.) been in combating anti-American sentiments?
14. To what extent can we rely on private and governmental international organizations to lessen existing international tensions?
15. To what extent has internal American politics affected our reception elsewhere? Are our neighbors watching to see whether we practice at home what we preach abroad?